Jacob Gould Schurman Puts Socialism Under the Microscope

This is the fourth article in The Tribune's series discussing social-

By Jacob Gould Schurman, LL. D.

T IS unnecessary to waste space in attempting to define socialism. No definition can be given which is universally acceptable. But socialism as understood by some of its advocates mas an early selfishness is nevertheless, a common of great weakness in socialism that it service they are not exploiting the last bution of commodities, it does not do

doctrines do not seem to be a logical or distinction and class struggles." necessary part of the system. And they are dogmas of the most colossal magnitude-dogmas unverified and unverifiable. And, still worse, they are of such an abstract and metaphysical character that a man who is not an expert in tory could scarcely be expected to under- surely illustrates this observation. Enstand them, much less to accept or ad-

THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION.

One of these colossal dogmas is the socalled materialistic interpretation of hisis "the foundation of socialism." This merely a special form of materialism. it is a truth which the socialist has exists by Karl Marx. A descendant of this clear by an illustration Jewish rabbis for many generations. Marx inherted the ancestral bent for subtle dialectics and rash speculation. In his youth Hegel's philosophy, the most speculative system of modern times, was in the ascendent in Germany, and Marx became an adherent of the When the reaction against Hegelianism came Marx went with the left wing to materialism. His dogma of the materialist interpretation of history is a crude attempt to explain the development of mankind by the crass old doctrine of materialism set forth in the new and strange light of Hegel's dialec-

The materialistic conception of history is neither better nor worse than any they decide to invest their money in the other system of materialistic philosophy Materialism is a mode of thought which makes a certain appeal to the ignorant hires laborers; and he must have money and to the half-educated. It has always enough to pay the wages of the laborers In the marts of thought it is silent, or if sale of commodities. The leader of the it lifts its voice no one regards it.

TRIUNE NATURE OF MAN.

Man has a bodily organism, but he is a mind and spirit. Any theory of man which takes account only of the body ignores his real nature and essence. And Marx's theory that the course of human history has been governed by the modes in which men satisfy their bodily wants ignores the great truth that man lives not by bread alone. Starvation and bread riots have indeed shaped the course of human history; but so have religious faith and morai ideals, and political aspirations and legal institutions, and scientific truths and philosophic speculations. And the socialist philosopher who sits down to explain the course of human history must recognize that these intellectual, moral, religious and political elements have at least as real and substantive a place in the human economy as the desire of food and drink and shelter and bodily comforts and the economic institutions to which they give rise. While Marx's antecedents and personal history explain his adoption of materialism, it is none the less regrettable that he should have bound socialism in such mean and narrow swaddling clothes. It has proved a veritable nightmare on the parts of the world who have been fascinated by Marx's dream of a co-operative industrial commonwealth.

DOCTRINE OF CLASS STRUGGLE. Another of the colossal dogmas put forward by socialists as an integral past of socialism is the doctrine of class struggle. 'The whole history of mankind," as Engels put it in the introduction to the "Communist Manifesto." "has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and ex- is the socialistic imputation that as a making unworthy appeals to passion and own interests the education, the morals they are no more responsible than New- it may be asked how it is possible, if to protect the employers rather than the tion should go to the capitalists. lon was for the law of gravitation. The the rest of us do our duty as good citieconomic foundations of society, they zens, for the capitalists in the United say, involve class divisions; conse- States to control our legislation when quently, class struggles. And in these their number is comparatively so small struggles the ruling class has always and all the rest of us-millions altoasserted its own interests. Nay, more, gether-have votes for the election of The prevailing system of political in- our law-givers, who speedily lose their stitutions, of law, of morality even, are places if they do not represent the puball determined by these class struggles lie opinion of their constituents? I do contrary, the law seems to him "an hon- doned the doctrine, and there is no and settled in the interests of the ex- not deny that capitalists may have est, and in the main adequate, system of disinterested economist of any standing ploiting class. In the present stage of bribed legislators and bulldozed goversocial development the conflict culmi- nors. But this evil, which is now rapidly fairly administered between litigants it. It is not too much to say, there nates and expresses itself in the antago- disappearing in the United States, is not nism between the wage paying and the peculiar to the economic organization dition." judicial powers of government are con- has a system of morality ever been im- tem of production by machinery, which is trolled by the capitalists, as also the po- posed upon the people by an exploiting not only large and complex, but often nomics. lice and military forces. Class legislate class? Morality is, as the word indition in the interests of the employing cates, the mores or customs of the peo- demands the enactment of workmen's class has been enacted, while workers pie-that is, the expression of the unilation. In socialist literature the judges any system of morality is reformed the lows.

Cornell's President Sees in This Civic Creed Colossal Dogmas, Unverified and Unverifiable, Among functions of production and distribution Which Is the Materialistic Conception of History Known as the "Foundation of Socialism." Abolition of Private Ownership, Says the Famous Educator, Would Produce Paralysis of Production and Would Cause the "Equal Distribution" of a Common Poverty.

umns. It is not exploiting the interpretation of socialists. The rules of the abstract, borer; they are co-operating with him to away with private property in consumof course, or increase things with the dominant class. The Kari Marx in economics as well as in Furthermore, besides capital and ia- gard as necessaries and comforts for a features and to develop other implica-But an earnest effort will be plies Marx with the formula of develop- ideal of justice is the one which favors metaphyrics. tions. But an estimate the state of surplus value is initiative and enterprise and directing tem of private property abolished outmade to assign nothing to socialism ment. Ideas, according to Hegel, tend to made to assign the socialists themselves would pass over into their opposites. The class laws protect their property interests and derived from the older writers on ecogenius of captains of industry, who, beside the realm of consumers' goods, it which the socialistic not regard either as an essential part of struggle, too, says Marx, will pass over sacrifice the rights of the masses. The nomics. Their theory is that laboration cause they create wealth, are entitled to will be seen that under the socialistic not regard claims as on a second part of the second and the second compensation of society there would be the system or a necessary deduction into its opposite when the wage earners law of the liability of the employer to creates value. This was enunciated by special compensation, yet whose comhave conquered the other classes of so- employe was adopted to protect the in- Locke and Petty and Adam Smith, and pensation is not generally regarded by no class living from incomes derived There are some doctrines regarded by ciety; the proletarians in emancipating terests of the former. This is the sort claborated into a system by Ricardo. socialists as legitimate wages. The en-Incre are some documes regarded by socialists as a part of their confession of themselves from the sway of the capifaith which cause much perplexity to talist will emancipate "society at large ture. It is high time these baseless critics otherwise sympathetic. These from all exploitation, oppression, class

Schiller said, "We must have foolishness in an article just published in "The Har- theory of surplus value is a logical de- If the capitalists and managers derive even to exhaustion before we arrive at metaphysics or the philosophy of his- The colossal dogma of class struggles thusiasts, whether moral or intellectual, so quickly lose perspective! A generation ago we were told that evolution meant the triumph of irreligion and ag-In the interval we have learned what evolution means, and espetory. We are gravely assured that this cially what it does not mean. And churchmen and philosophers to-day have dogma is lauded as one of the greatest become evolutionists. There is a truth discoveries of modern times. Yet it is as undoubtedly in the socialistic dogma of old as philosophic thinking, for it is class divisions and class struggles. But The dogma was presented to the social- aggerated into falsehood. Let me make

THE EXAGGERATION EXPOSED

us suppose that in this city a skilled workman or a merchant with a small business has saved \$5,000; or, if he has not saved so much, that he has saved establishing a new enterprise, for which capital to the extent of \$100,000 is nec sary: he outlines a plan and lays it besaved money, which, of course, they leman and his plan looks hopeful, business; the enterprising manager later secures buildings, purchases machinery, been discarded by the decpest thinkers, and the other operating expenses of the and is to-day without serious advocates. business until receipts come in from the Tenterprise pays wages; the workmen re ceive them. He belongs to the class of employers; they belong to the class .f employes. Here at once is a difference in class growing out of the organization of modern industry. It may also be freely admitted that the workmen want as high wages and as short hours as it is possible to get. They do not, however, make demands so extravagant as to bankrupt the business.

In other words, although there is in this business a class called the employers and another class called the employes. and some of their respective interests are divergent, they are united in an all-dominating interest to save the business from bankruptcy and to make it such : success that the manager may be able not only to pay wages and operating expenses, including depreciation, but the rent for his buildings, interest on capital and a high salary for himself as the or ganizing, initiating and, one might almost say, the creative genius of the entire concern. This example clearly shows, as John Mitchell has often said. that there is no necessary antagonism between capital and labor. This Schenectady capitalist has added a new industry to his city, given employment minds and hearts of working men in all to a large number of wage earners, furnished his thrifty neighbors with a good local investment, given the consuming public something they need, and in return for all these services received a good compensation and, until the competition of others cuts it down, something in the way of profits besides.

AS REGARDS "RULE OF CLASSES."

To call this Schenectady phenomenon class struggle and class hatred is the veriest midsummer madness. Still worse ploited, ruling and oppressed classes." result of the class struggle the capi-When the socialists are charged with talistic class shapes and controls in its stirring up class hatred they reply that the politics and the laws of the modthey are merely formulating a law of ern world. There is no space here to social development for whose existence treat of this subject exhaustively. But

chough to fill one with despair; but from ideals of truth and justice and temper- source we learn that Marx's theory of result of past labors. But even when so despair the socialist is finally saved by ance and all the sweet charities of do-

whether the Auglo-American law gov- understand the indignation with which and industrial organization, com-

struggles once and forever. For in this law, they say, are established by the arbitrary and antiquated speculations of a common end.

extremes which are falsehoods. As M. Burdick, of the Columbia Law School, ily. And it must be admitted that the aid of the wage earners.

vard Law Review." The specific ques- duction from the principle that labor is undue profits or exerbitant salaries from the beautiful goal of calm wisdom," tion examined by Professor Burdick is the sole source of value. And one can their enterprises under our existing eco-

demagogic declarations were confronted italist appropriated to himself whatever men who initiate and direct industrial prises, all railways, etc., had been taken surplus remained after a wage had been enterprises are a sufficient reason for over by the state, then mortgages, deeds So far as law is concerned this has paid to the laborer merely sufficient for their getting a share, and a fair share, and railway and industrial securities truth is rarely reached except by way of recently been done by Professor Francis the subsistence of himself and his fam- of the wealth which they create with the would disappear, along with the private ownership on which they rest. Consequently, in the socialist state, there would be no idle class. If a man will not work, the socialists say, neither shall he eat. And the incomes of all adult members of the community would be deter-

mined solely by their labor.

JUST AN ECONOMIC CHANGE. This complete transformation of so ciety is the essence of socialism. And it is to be noted that the transformation is economic only. In its essential feature socialism postulates no other modification of existing civilization except, indeed, such changes as may necessarily result from that fundamental economic transformation. Morals, religion, politics even, might remain as they are to-day. So might the institution of the family also, except that when the state instead of the parents provides a livelihood for children this economic change would inevitably produce some change in the existing organization of the family. Nor is socialism as an economic transformation of society concerned with propose to transfer all land and capital theories of government. In America to the ownership of the state. Confiscanaturally socialists are adherents of democracy. And perhaps democracy is owners, and therefore some form of

aristocratic type. inequalities of fortune and the helpless- productive industries of the country ness of the working man in consequence would be saddled with a charge which of the appropriation by capitalists of the may not unfairly be compared with the land, factories, work shops, railways and | aggregate interest which under our pres all the instrumentalities of production ent competitive system of industry is and exchange. All these properties are paid to the owners of capital for the use to be transferred from their present pri- of their funds in production. But even vate ownership to the ownership of the after this debt had been extinguished the in production and exchange are to inure state would almost certainly yield less not to the benefit of favored indivduals, to the community than these industries industrial revolution, the socialists tell us, has developed a small number of propertied classes and a vast army of to intelligent and disinterested thinkers. unpropertied classes. And the antagonism between them has grown so acute that private ownership in the interest of all. Manufacturing, business, transportation would go on under the socialistic state as they do to-day, but the

the community as a whole. A VAST IMPRACTICABILITY.

properties by means of which these func-

tions are performed would be owned and

managed by the state for the benefit of

socialistic programme is its vastness. Socialists talk of the state as an almost making for the productiveness of modern omnipotent and omniscient agent of hu- industry. But nearly all these factors manity. For all practical purposes, are rendered efficient by the spur of however, the state consists of a small private interest, by the inducements of number of average men whom, in dem- gain or fortune. The highest work of ballot to perform certain public func- least affected by these self-regarding tions at the seat of government. In the considerations; the preacher of rightlegislative and executive departments coursess, the good physician, the genthey make and administer the laws and | uine teacher, the creative artist, the in-United States the central government influenced by the compensations they repossesses under the Constitution a minimum of governmental functions. Yet is sufficient for a modest livelihood. even among us the public business is conducted with much less energy and efficiency than private business. Although some European states own and manage the railways-never, however, with great success-we hesitate to invest our government with this function because of its incompetency as a business agent and the inefficiency to which it is doomed by partisan politics. Yet socialists talk jauntily of throwing upon this band of administrators and politicians in Washington the burden of managing all the industries of the coun-

We have millions of farms and factories, and their prosperity is the adnatural safeguard of the existing system. miration of the world. They are owned by individuals and managed by individuals. Individual ambition, self-interest and enterprise guarantee their success. When they prosper the indiabsolutely necessary. How far it may be vidual owners reap the advantage. necessary to invoke government regula- When they decline or fail it is the owntion to supplement the natural law of ers who suffer. However it may be in competition is the greatest problem now the higher walks of life, in productive before the government and people of the industry at any rate men do their best the prospect of personal gain incite to only when they enjoy the fruits of their labors and suffer the consequences of most reach of genius, will be without

The socialists defy this law of human talities of production and distribution, human race has ever produced, the task name of reform are strangely blind to its requires a great effort of imagination mous annual volume of our products. In the census year of 1910 it is estimated that our farms and factories and fisneries and mines produced commodities of a value reaching from \$30,000,000,000 to \$35,000,000,000. This does not include

viduals who while pursuing their own nterests at the same time serve and benefit the community. Yet to satisfy socialists would take out of the hands of facturers and others-the multifarious unskilled government at Washington the management of a vast all-embracing network of national business of infinite variety, of a value immeasurable and practically unimaginable and of a range extent and complexity calculated to satisty all the needs of 100,000,000 American consumers!

A PARALYSIS OF PRODUCTION. Even if the socialistic reorganization

society were practicable, on economic

grounds it must be pronounced unde sirable. What people want is not merely equal incomes but good sized incomes Marshall tells us that in Great Britain. although during the last generation the average money income of the people has more than doubled and the price of almost all important commodities except animal food and house room has faller by one-half, or even further, it is nevertheless a fact that even now if wealth were distributed equally the total production of the country would only suffice to provide necessaries and the more urgent comforts for the people. Some artisans' families, he says, earn about £200, or \$1,000, a year, and would gain nothing by an equal distribution of wealth. American economists conside \$1,000 a year a liberal estimate of the average income of families in the United States. While those figures would represent a gain for many wage carners they would fail to realize the pictures which socialists have painted of the

wealth, prosperity and happiness of so

clalistic communities.

From an economic point of view therefore, socialism (if for the time being we overlook the fact of its impracticability) must stand or fall according to the effect which the system has on the productive powers of the nation. To start with, the socialists the ideal of most socialists in other purchase or compensation has been quite lands. Nevertheless there have been generally suggested. For a generation great socialists who accepted govern- or so after the system came into operaments both of the monarchical and tion the state would, we may assume pay annuities to the former owners of Socialism is a protest against existing land and capital. During this period the The advantages which they bring productive industries of the socialistic but to the community as a whole. The do when competitively managed under can be demonstrated in a way conclusive

What are the factors which make our industries productive? They are the to public ownership in the interest labor of the wage earners, the initiating and directing genius of managers, machinery and other capital goods of the most modern type and of the most ample variety and thorough efficiency, and, lastly, inventions by which the processes and instruments of production are being constantly improved, along with continuous investigations and discoveries in science which those inventions are forever The first thing that strikes one in the applying to industry.

These are the most important factors ocratic countries, the citizens elect by man-moral, intellectual, artistic-is conduct the public services. In the spired scientific investigator, are little ceive from society, provided only there

SLOW GROWTH OF ALTRUISM. But on the lower plane of human as-

tivity grosser motives dominate. Coarser labors must be purchased by coarser rewards. Of course, the human race is improving, and will improve, and the spirit of altruism gradually but slowly gains more power in human affairs. But at any date which may be named within a century or more for the inauguration of the socialistic state human nature will be pretty much what it is to-day. And it is Emerson who says of men that they are all as lazy as they dare to be. Under the socialistic regime, therefore, the laboring men (the wage earners, as they are now called) being assured of a fair income and a fair day cannot be expected to work as hard as they do under the present competitive system in which the wages they receive bear a relation to the quality and productiveness of the labor which they perform.

Similarly the captains of industry, whom emulation and competition and the highest pitch of energy and the utthese motives for the exertion of their powers. Yet it is precisely the aggressive energy and ambition of these men bility for their own affairs; they turn which more than any other single factor tion of existing economic society. With millions of farms and factories over to have built up our system of modern inthemselves hampered by prohibitions in making the state the sole capitalist and would overcome their powers and parpresent competitive system, they find indispensable for the success of their enterprises. If the men under them are managers now dismiss them; and the fear of dismissal co-operates with the desire of gain to incite everybody to his best endeavor. But in a socialistic state in which the industries of the country were managed by officials elected by the citizens no workman (unless he were a



vile .udiciary" occur and recur ad poor in this world's goods, but rich in most practical doctrine of socialism" and importance to that of class struggle." possess capital are entitled to compensa-Page earners will have effected a politi- That law is the expression of class For my own part I regard it as a source tion for its use in production. In this ery used for the production and distri-

persons employed. Professor Burdick But Ricardo's theory of labor as the makes no rash statements on the sub- sole source of value and his theory of a ject. He merely examines the decisions mere subsistence wage is now a piece of of English and American courts and obsolete economics. It is as antiquated analyzes their reasonings. He shows as the eighteenth century biology which that there is not one iota of evidence for Darwinian science has superseded. Rithe socialist dogma that law is the ex- cardo's successors in England-John principles under which fustice can be in Europe or America who now accepts

without respect to class, or rank, or con- fore, that the basis of the socialistic dogma of surplus value has been under-This, of course, is not to say that the mined by the progress of economic sci- In its essential feature it is a programme nature. They divest men of responsicapitalists, dominate in their own in- occur under a socialistic regime (with development of law keeps pace with ence. It is surely deplorable that in terests not only our industries, but our the bribers called "bosses" instead of social and economic progress. As a matschools and churches and institutions of capitalists) as under our present comgovernment. And the socialists openly petitive system. And to pass from poli- law of employers' liability has been renassert that the legislative, executive and tics to morals, in what country or clime dered largely obsolete by the modern sys-

compensation laws which will super- machinery the proposition that labor is guish between consumers' goods and who propose such a revolution in the have begged in vain for protective legis- versal heart and conscience. And when sede in large part employers' liability the sole source of value was not unreasthe sole source of value was not unreas-onable. But in our modern world, with commodities which we use to satisfy our far-reaching sweep and magnitude. It incapable or lazy or slack in efforts, its machines for the utilization of the wants, like food, clothing, dwelling the phrases "judicial tyranny" and "serwasseam. The darkness of the outlook faith and hope and charity and of that "those who join the political party in the creation of value. Capital may, used for the production of new comand the bitterness of the oppressed are quick and deep insight into the eternal must subscribe to it." From the same indeed, be regarded as the accumulated modities.

ploye is the outcome of a desire or policy value so large a portion of their crea- reduces them to the normal level. The possibility of such competition, is the If in any industry competition is suppressed and monopoly establishes itself. then in that industry government regulation in the public interest becomes

United States. But socialism, whatever the socialists may say, is not a bundle of metaphysi- their neglect.

cal, ethical and economic speculations. ized communities antedating the age of the sole landlord. Economists distin-

Now, while socialism does away with